Popular Culture

How the Museum für Gestaltung Zürich Promoted the Everyday in Graphic Design

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When I came to the Hochschule für Gestaltung und Kunst Zürich in 2003 for an exchange semester in the Visual Communication diploma course, I was too late to see with my own eyes one of the exhibitions discussed below. However, perhaps I would not have become interested in Swiss graphic design at all if these exhibitions had not taken place, as they significantly influenced the way graphic design was practiced and reflected upon in Switzerland. The present essay is about how the Kunstgewerbemuseum der Stadt Zürich (later the Museum für Gestaltung Zürich), especially through its curators Margit Weinberg Staber (1976–1984) and Martin Heller (1985–1998), expanded the reference system of graphic design from the professional to the everyday.[1] By doing so, they were following the example of those Swiss graphic designers who dealt with popular culture in their work from the late 1970s onwards, but were also in line with the trend towards recognizing everyday experience as a site of discursive production that had begun with the so-called cultural turn, and had thereafter become established in the field of cultural studies. There, popular culture is understood as "part of power relations [that] always bears traces of the constant struggle between domination and subordination, between power and various forms of resistance to it or evasions of it, between military strategy and guerrilla tactics."[2] Between 1980 and 2000, the Museum für Gestaltung Zürich became recognized as a key place in Switzerland where these relations were renegotiated for the field of design:

> No other place presents popular design in such a continuous, coherent way, no other research center documents one of Heller's favorite topics, thE aestheticization of everyday life, in such a vivid and illuminating way. (Kein anderer Ort stellt derart kontinuierlich das Design des Alltags vor und in Zusammenhänge, keine Forschungsstelle belegt eines von Hellers Lieblingsthemen, die Ästhetisierung des Alltags, so eindringlich und einleuchtend.)[3]

However, as this quotation also implies, the attempts by Weinberg Staber and her successor Heller were crowned with very different degrees of success. While Weinberg

Staber's contributions to the discourse on Swiss graphic design remained rather unnoticed, Heller is regarded today as an important advocate of graphic design as a popular phenomenon in Switzerland. The following questions thus arise: How did the Museum für Gestaltung Zürich present graphic design as an everyday practice to its visitors? What methods did its curators use to establish and disseminate their views on graphic design? How did they shape the discourse and the canon of Swiss graphic design? And what is the significance of their contributions from today's perspective? The following attempt to answer these questions is based on an understanding that exhibitions "have not just reflected what has been occurring, but have been active in expressing a curatorial point of view," as the graphic design historian Teal Triggs has put it.[4]

With different eyes

Long before Weinberg Staber took up her position as curator at the Kunstgewerbemuseum Zürich in 1976, she had obtained her diploma at the Hochschule für Gestaltung (HfG) Ulm as the first-ever graduate of its Abteilung Information (Information Department) under the direction of Max Bense in 1958.[5] During her studies, she got to know the then director of the HfG Ulm, Max Bill, for whom she worked after graduating as an editorial assistant, managing his archive in Zurich.[6] It is therefore not surprising that she had a close relationship with concrete art and the Zurich Concretists (Zürcher Konkreten), which is also evident from her publications.[7] Nevertheless, Weinberg Staber distinguished herself at the Kunstgewerbemuseum Zürich as a specialist in questions of popular culture.[8] In the field of visual communication, she conceived exhibitions on a broad spectrum of topics, such as *San Francisco Rock Poster Art: Plakate 1965 bis 1971* (San Francisco Rock Poster Art: Posters 1965 to 1971) (Dec. 26, 1977–Feb. 5, 1978), *Push Pin Studios aus New York* (Push Pin Studios from New York) (Oct. 24–Dec. 13, 1981), *Grapus: ein Grafiker-Kollektiv aus Frankreich* (Grapus: A graphic designer collective from France) (May 8–Jul. 4, 1982), and her most widely acclaimed exhibition, *Werbestil 1930–1940: Die alltägliche Bildersprache eines Jahrzehnts* (Advertising style 1930–1940: The everyday imagery of a decade) (Sep. 12–Nov. 15, 1981).

Despite her Modernist background, one cannot accuse Weinberg Staber of having limited herself to this perspective as a curator. This is clear from her introduction to the exhibition *Werbestil 1930–1940: Die alltägliche Bildersprache eines Jahrzehnts*, where she said she did not want to project the wishful thinking of the Modernists into the consciousness of the beholder once again, but instead aimed to present a holistic picture of *Gebrauchsgrafik* (commercial art) from the elitist to the trivial, and from the

progressive to the conservative, with all intermediate fluctuations in taste.[9] However, despite an appreciation of Weinberg Staber's efforts to bring together popular and fine art, an internal conflict about the museum's independence from the Kunstgewerbeschule Zürich (Zurich School of Arts and Crafts) culminated in her resignation in 1984.[10]

Heller curated his first exhibition at the Kunstgewerbemuseum Zürich before his appointment as its director, working as an external curator in collaboration with Claudia Cattaneo. *Mit anderen Augen* (With different eyes) (Kunstgewerbemuseum der Stadt Zürich, Nov. 18, 1982–Jan. 23, 1983) presented new approaches in art education and highlighted the influence of children's drawings on the visual arts. Before this, Heller had been commissioned by the museum to prepare the Internationale Institut für das Studium der Jugendzeichnung (International Institute for the Study of Youth Drawing) collection for an exhibition. This collection had been founded in 1932 as a department of the Pestalozzianum in Zurich and documented the reform project "Neues Zeichnen" (New Drawing) in Switzerland. In an interview with the present writer, Heller explained that this exhibition overlapped with his licentiate thesis *Zur Kunst der gebrannten Kinder: Kindlicher Primitivismus 1940–1960* (On the art of burned children: Childlike primitivism 1940–1960), which he submitted to the University of Basel in 1985, and it represented the then widespread belief in the free creativity of children.[11] Before that, he trained as a drawing teacher at the Kunstgewerbeschule Basel (Basel School of Arts and Crafts) and gave lessons in order to finance his second degree in art history, ethnology and European folklore. It is therefore not surprising that Heller's approach to graphic design was different from that of his predecessor.

The Kunstgewerbemuseum belonged to the Kunstgewerbeschule Zürich, and in 1985, the director of the latter, Hansjörg Budliger, offered Heller a position as a permanent curator at the former, on condition that he first complete his university studies.[12] One of Heller's first assignments required him to set up an exhibition entitled *50 Jahre Schweizerische Winterhilfe* (50 years of Swiss Winter Aid) for the poster awards of the charitable organization Schweizerische Winterhilfe (Museum für Gestaltung Zürich, Oct. 25–Dec. 7, 1986). In contrast to its conventional framework, this exhibition included documentary photographs and poster designs that had been rejected by the juries of the time. In that way, the display shifted the visitor's focus from the design of the posters to their historical context and the principle of competition with which the designers were confronted. Heller's approach was not to show posters as self-contained works of art, but to use them to communicate socio-cultural developments to the Swiss public, and to discuss the selection process of the

competition. This exhibition can serve as an example of Heller's understanding of exhibiting as an independent cultural technique comparable to writing, for it entailed acquiring new knowledge through research and mediating it in the form of an exhibition.[13] On the other hand, however, his exhibition also offered a critical examination of design competitions, a subject that he revisited in one of his later exhibitions. [Fig. 46]

After only a few months, Hansjörg Budliger commissioned Heller to design larger exhibition projects, with the freedom to pursue his own ideas in them. The press release for the exhibition *Herzblut: Populäre Gestaltung aus der Schweiz* (Lifeblood: Popular design from Switzerland) (Museum für Gestaltung Zürich, Sep. 2–Nov. 8, 1987) opens with the question: How does a museum of design come to occupy itself with hobby works by amateurs? It is one of various exhibitions and texts in which Heller explored the phenomena of folk art and popular design.[14] It opened the doors of the Museum für Gestaltung Zürich to questions that were also discussed within cultural studies, where popular art is regarded as "part of the everyday, not distanced from it."[15] By presenting the works of amateur designers from Switzerland, the exhibition was explicitly aimed at confronting the visitor with different values, prejudices, cultural hierarchies, and insights, but also with the arrogance of those who speak disparagingly of the "bad" taste of those who are always also the addressees of professional design.[16] This statement could easily be applied to several well-known modern Swiss graphic designers who displayed their dogmatic professionalism at the Kunstgewerbemuseum Zürich in exhibitions such as *Konstruktive Grafik* (Constructive graphic design) (Mar. 8–Apr. 6, 1958).

Heller deepened his exploration of popular culture in graphic design in the exhibition *Anschläge: Plakatsprache Zürich 1978–1988* ([*Anschläge*[17]]: Poster language [in] Zurich 1978–1988) (Museum für Gestaltung Zürich, Aug. 31–Oct. 23, 1988), which he curated with Alain Marendaz. This exhibition was a continuation of earlier presentations of the museum's collections, but the title itself marks a subversive change of perspective. By deliberately mixing advertising and subculture, one of the aims of the exhibition was to review the Zurich youth movement of the 1980s and to show how its visual language was appropriated by the mainstream.[18] [Fig. 47] In this way, the exhibition documented an essential aspect of urban culture and made visible Zurich's development during the previous ten years.[19] By considering graphic design as part of the urban space and as something that mirrors socio-cultural developments, the exhibition extended the discourse on graphic design into popular culture. In retrospect, Heller described this approach as visual anthropology in which social patterns manifest themselves.[20] It made it possible to

Fig. 46

Fig. 47

Fig. 48

Fig. 46
Installation view, *50 Jahre Schweizerische Winterhilfe*, Museum für Gestaltung Zürich, Oct. 25–Dec. 7, 1986.

Fig. 47
Installation view, *Anschläge: Plakatsprache Zürich 1978–1988*, Museum für Gestaltung Zürich, Aug. 31–Oct. 23, 1988.

Fig. 48
Installation view, *Die 99 schlechtesten Plakate – prämiert weil jenseits*, Museum für Gestaltung Zürich, Nov. 23, 1994–Jan. 15, 1995.

Fig. 49
Cornel Windlin (design), cover of *Universal: Für fast alle und alles*, 22 × 24 cm, 1996.

Fig. 49

understand graphic design not only as a creative achievement, but also as social expression.[21] At the same time, this approach enabled Heller to use design to introduce new subjects into the design discourse.

The boldness of the Museum für Gestaltung Zürich in questioning traditional values and norms in Swiss graphic design did not escape criticism from the established design scene. Heller's examination of evaluation standards in Swiss graphic design culminated in the exhibition *Die 99 schlechtesten Plakate – prämiert weil jenseits* (The 99 worst posters—awarded because beyond [good and evil]) (Museum für Gestaltung Zürich, Nov. 23, 1994–Jan. 15, 1995), which resulted in a public controversy. This exhibition presented ninety-nine posters on the floor of the gallery of the museum so that the exhibition visitor looked down on them, as is common practice when judging posters in competitions. [Fig. 48] In addition, the visitors, as the "addressees" of the posters, were invited to contribute their opinion by selecting the worst one. In the accompanying publication, Heller justified his deliberately subjective choice of each poster and questioned the selection criteria of the national poster award Die besten Schweizer Plakate des Jahres (The Best Swiss Posters of the Year), once again putting "good taste" up for discussion.[22] Surprisingly, the selection also included award-winning posters by renowned designers from other competitions. As expected, some of the designers featured took to the press to issue a harsh critique of Heller and his exhibition.[23] Because Heller claims that the reception of an exhibition interests him more than actually making it,[24] we may assume that he deliberately provoked this controversy about the supposedly absent ambition of the poster designs he exhibited. In this way, the exhibition managed to make the discourse on design accessible to a broad public, while at the same time holding up a mirror to the established design scene. It was one of a series of contributions in which Heller criticized the lack of proper discourse, the dominance of capitalist ways of thinking, and a resultant indifference in Swiss graphic design at the time.[25]

For almost everyone

Even before his appointment as the head curator of the Museum für Gestaltung Zürich in 1990, Heller attached great importance to visual communication for his exhibitions—such as leaflets, publications, posters, and invitation cards. He selected the graphic designers himself, and monitored their design processes as their client. Furthermore, to make the museum's new direction visible to the outside and to appeal to a younger audience, Heller commissioned aspiring graphic designers to create the printed matter for his various exhibitions. When selecting the designers, it was essential to Heller that they understood themselves as authors:[26]

A whole series of younger Swiss designers has succeeded in the last ten or fifteen years in developing their own forms of expression. In our climate of increasing indistinguishability between high art and popular culture, however, this has hardly resulted in any extensive claims to power such as was the case with the "good form" utopias. In any case, graphic design isn't going to make for better people anymore. The designers of the new generation define themselves less as service-providers or educators and more as graphic authors. Their work often involves uneconomic efforts, quite evident in the finished results, which oppose any common expediency. (Eine ganze Reihe jüngerer Schweizer Gestalterinnen und Gestalter hat es in den letzten zehn, fünfzehn Jahren geschafft, eigene Ausdrucksformen zu entwickeln. Im Klima zunehmender Ununterscheidbarkeit von Hoch- und Populärkultur erwachsen daraus allerdings kaum flächendeckende Machtansprüche, wie sie noch die "Gute Form"-Utopien auszeichneten. Ohnehin macht Grafik längst keine besseren Menschen mehr. Die Gestalter der neuen Generation definieren sich deshalb weniger als Dienstleister oder Erzieher denn als grafische Autoren. Ihre Arbeit forciert einen oft unökonomischen, im fertigen Resultat durchaus offen ablesbaren Aufwand, der sich jedem üblichen Zweckdenken querlegt.)[27]

Heller recast visual communication at the Museum für Gestaltung Zürich in line with his interpretation of the graphic designer as author by regularly collaborating with a small group of selected graphic designers, and promoting their careers by doing so. While the posters for Heller's exhibitions at the beginning of his time at the museum were designed by various graphic designers—including Hans-Rudolf Lutz, Ruedi Wyss, Anne Hoffmann, Roli Fischbacher, Hanna Williamson-Koller, and others—this process is most obvious in the case of Cornel Windlin. What many of these practitioners have in common is that they dealt with popular culture in their work, whether in Lutz's title pages for the *Typographische Monatsblätter* (*TM*) in 1977, or Wyss's preference for the copying machine as a design tool for his jazz posters. However, it was Windlin who had previously attracted attention with his posters and flyers for the Rote Fabrik cultural center in Zurich. Heller issued him with a large number of commissions from the museum, starting with the visual communication for the exhibition *Zeitreise: Bilder Maschinen Rätsel* (Time travel: Pictures machines riddles) (Mar. 3–May 2, 1993), and ending with the poster for Heller's last exhibition at the Museum für Gestaltung Zürich, *Die Schweizer Autobahn* (The Swiss highway) (Mar. 6–May 9, 1999).

As an exemplary product of his collaboration with Windlin, Heller refers to the publication that accompanied the

exhibition *Universal: Für fast alle und alles* (Universal: For almost everyone and everything) (Museum für Gestaltung Zürich, Oct. 30, 1996–Jan. 5, 1997).[28] Windlin was given a great deal of conceptual freedom, and created a picture and textbook that tells the stories behind "Universal" in its own visually attractive way.[29] [Fig. 49] This book was awarded a prize as one of the Most Beautiful Swiss Books of 1996, for the reason that it managed to bring together the diversity of the extensive exhibition material through its innovative and playful, but also precise design and typographical implementation.[30] Windlin is mentioned as co-editor of the book, which in itself highlights the importance that Heller attached to the role of the designer in the creation of publications.

Windlin was also mentioned in several articles by Heller. This is particularly relevant in "Grafik in der Schweiz: Ein zerstreuter Blick aufs Ganze" (Graphic design in Switzerland: a fragmented view of the whole), in which Heller criticizes the status of graphic design in Switzerland at the time. Besides presenting two of Windlin's works as examples—among them the invitation for the exhibition *Zeitreise: Bilder Maschinen Rätsel*—Heller mentions him together with thirteen designers and agencies who, according to him, have managed to establish themselves as graphic design authors and thus taken over the legacy of the former avant-garde.[31] In a later article, Heller even praised Windlin as the dream partner of clients who are prepared to revise their ideas whenever necessary.[32]

Heller's appreciation of Windlin was not without an impact. A considerable number of the graphic designers mentioned here are now part of the canon of Swiss graphic design. Windlin's later works, especially for the Schauspielhaus Zürich, received several awards including the Eidgenössischer Preis für Design (Swiss Federal Design Award) in the category "market" in 2011, and the 2007 Swiss Grand Award for Design of the Swiss Federal Office of Culture (SFOC), which is given to renowned designers and design offices that contribute significantly to the reputation of Swiss design on a national and international level. That was the first year that the prize was awarded (under its then name "DESIGNER 2007").[33] Heller's assessment of Windlin is echoed in the press release for the award, according to which the designer both belonged to the great traditions of his country and had also vigorously renewed the fundamentals of Swiss graphic design.[34] It is thus evident that the Museum für Gestaltung Zürich, and above all its curator and later director Heller, had a significant influence on the historiography of Swiss graphic design.

Questions of taste

The museum succeeded in reframing graphic design as a popular phenomenon in contrast to the common view of it as a

professional service. However, how did its exhibitions differ from others of the time that shaped the presentation of graphic design, such as *The Graphic Language of Neville Brody*, which was held in 1988 at the Twentieth Century Gallery of the Victoria and Albert Museum in London? According to Triggs, that exhibition can be understood as "a classic—perhaps the first example of male, white designer as 'star,'" and it became a model for further "exhibitions [that] have built upon the status of the individual graphic designer whose work is highly visible within popular culture." However, despite Heller's support for individual designers, he was apparently not interested in any form of monographic reappraisal, nor any resultant "heroization," as Triggs called it.[35]

As Heller stated in his interview, he felt that his exhibitions were related to those of Stephen Bayley, the curator of the Boilerhouse Project in London. Initiated by the Conran Foundation, which later also founded the Design Museum in London, the Boilerhouse Project was accommodated in former boiler houses of the Victoria and Albert Museum between 1982 and 1986. As such, it "was to be a testing ground for what a permanent design museum might be" by "exploring the relationships between design, industry and commerce."[36] Rather like Heller's concept for the Museum für Gestaltung Zürich, the Boilerhouse Project was "concerned mainly with 'designs from the real world'" by presenting exhibitions such as *Taste: An Exhibition about Values in Design* in 1983.[37] This exhibition was aimed at helping to "understand more clearly why we value certain qualities in design" and thus takes up a topic similar to that of the exhibition *Herzblut: Populäre Gestaltung aus der Schweiz* at the Museum für Gestaltung Zürich.[38] And just like Bayley fought against established structures in the museum sector, and especially at the Victoria and Albert Museum, by addressing "popular culture head-on,"[39] Heller's exhibitions and publications challenged the legitimacy of the distance between high and low culture. Furthermore, the approaches of Heller and Bayley seem to be similar in their understanding of exhibition-making as a form of writing. The exhibitions in the Boilerhouse were thus "like three-dimensional magazine articles, and appear to have been written into existence like texts," as the design historian Alice Twemlow observes.[40]

The phenomena of writing and authorship played an increasingly important role in the international discourse on graphic design from the early 1990s onwards. However, while the texts of Michael Rock and Rick Poynor are often regarded as the starting point for the transfer of the concept of authorship to graphic design,[41] Heller's contributions have so far been largely ignored in this historiography, probably because his texts often appeared in national media and in German. Heller expanded the concept of *Grafik* (graphic design) in Switzerland by introducing authorship as an alternative

model, and supported it as a postmodern alternative to the then-dominant functional understanding of graphic design. At the same time, new practices emerged that attempted to break away from the Modernist job profile of the graphic designer as a service provider. It was these practitioners who, after the success of "konstruktive Gebrauchsgrafik," once again drew the attention of the international design scene to Switzerland and attracted young students like myself to Switzerland.

However, from today's perspective, Heller was incorrect in believing that graphic authorship only took limited account of stylistic issues and would therefore be more resistant to formalism than functional Modernism. Furthermore, Heller could not have foreseen that the "self-confident graphic designer" he proclaimed, who works mostly for the cultural sector and has to cross-finance her or his uneconomical effort through secondary jobs,[42] would first become a desirable status for a succeeding generation of graphic designers, then later a self-exploitative model for the neoliberal creative industry.[43] The consequences of this in the education of graphic designers are still evident today, especially in higher education courses, which are either engaged in constantly producing new "graphic design personalities," or stuck trying to expand the relevance of graphic design as a reflective practice.

Success stories

With the rise of the designer to become a popular profession and a way of life for a new generation, the Museum für Gestaltung Zürich positioned itself as a place where current phenomena were negotiated, grievances were addressed, and new forms of mediation were tested. It developed into a central hub of an extensive network of practitioners and theoreticians who did not feel addressed by the discourses produced in traditional media and associations, and did so without excluding a wider audience. In retrospect, this successful development of the museum since the crisis described at the beginning of this article can be attributed to Heller's direction:[44]

> Within the space of a decade, he has taken the Zurich Museum for Design with its collections of posters, graphics, and design, along with its branch in the Museum Bellerive, and with twenty-six exhibitions and just as many books he has turned it into the place in Switzerland where people engage and reflect on design and architecture. (Er hat innert eines Jahrzehnts das Museum für Gestaltung Zürich mit seinen Sammlungen für Plakate, Grafik und Design und seiner Filiale im Museum Bellerive mit 26 Ausstellungen und ebenso vielen Büchern zu dem Platz der Schweiz gemacht, wo über Design und Architektur nachgedacht wird.)[45]

Heller's ability to establish networks, his vision for the Museum für Gestaltung Zürich, and his leadership skills, are considered important factors in this. He not only installed new graphic designers as contractors to the museum and promoted their work by featuring it in exhibitions and articles, but also established an entire network of regular collaborators. To name but a few: Claude Lichtenstein joined Heller at the museum from the very beginning, as curator for architecture and design. From 1987 onwards, Heller worked almost exclusively with Tristan Kobler on exhibition design. He repeatedly published catalogs for the Museum with Walter Keller at Scalo-Verlag or with Lars Müller, who designed the publication for his very first exhibition, *Mit anderen Augen*. Christina Reble supported Heller in the editing and production of his books, starting in 1988. In matters of intellectual dialogue and the development of new theories, Heller was often supported by André Vladimir Heiz as co-author. Furthermore, Heller knew how to make use of professional and public media such as daily newspapers, radio, and television, as his list of publications impressively proves.[46] Finally, it came as no surprise that the success story of the Museum für Gestaltung Zürich under the direction of Heller did not remain hidden from outsiders. Accordingly, Heller was in 1999 appointed the artistic director of the Swiss National Exhibition Expo.01 (later Expo.02), and for that reason resigned from his position as director of the museum in 1998. Weinberg Staber also made a career in the cultural sector after her time as curator at the Museum für Gestaltung Zürich, but in contrast to Heller, popular culture no longer played a role for her. In 1986, she became involved as a founding member of the Stiftung für konkrete, konstruktive und konzeptuelle Kunst (Foundation for Concrete, Constructive and Conceptual Art), which runs the Museum Haus Konstruktiv in Zurich. She became the first director of this Museum in 1987, and stayed there until 1993. Through her exhibitions and catalogs, Weinberg Staber positioned herself as a leading expert for concrete and constructive art in Switzerland, and was appointed an honorary member by the Foundation Board in 2017 in recognition of her contribution to the successful establishment of the Museum Haus Konstruktiv.[47]

An assessment of Weinberg Staber's work for the Museum für Gestaltung Zürich not only raises questions from today's perspective, but also led to controversy in her own day. For example, in an article commenting on her resignation, she was blamed for causing the museum to lose momentum, the argument being that her strength lay in scholarship, not in creative work.[48] A letter from the "Präsident des Lehrerkonvents der Kunstgewerbeschule Zürich" (President of the Teachers' Convention of the Kunstgewerbeschule Zürich) understandably complained that the article in question exploited Weinberg

Staber's resignation as an opportunity to construct a problem that lacked any fatual basis.[49] Whether the criticism of her work was unjustified or not, what remains is an image of a curator who could not have been more different from Heller. A brief analysis of the documentation of Weinberg Staber's exhibitions reveals that, despite her obvious efforts to question the then-dominant Modernist interpretations of design, the display and design of her exhibitions followed the conventions of the time. Did she truly fail to find an attractive form to convey the popular in graphic design? Or is it because of the male-dominated reception in her field that she has hardly ever figured in histories of Swiss graphic design? Weinberg Staber's impact on Swiss graphic design has yet to be investigated.

1 The Kunstgewerbemuseum der Stadt Zürich was renamed the Museum für Gestaltung Zürich in 1986.
2 Fiske 1989: 19.
3 Julier 1998: 10–15.
4 Triggs 2016: 40–41.
5 Oswald, Wachsmann & Kellner 2015.
6 *Jahresbericht 2017*: 10.
7 See Staber 1960: 19.
8 Müller 1984: 39.
9 Exhibition text, *Werbestil 1930–1940*, Zürcher Hochschule der Künste ZHdK Archive, GBA-1981-D08-001.
10 Gasser 1984: 26.
11 Heller 1985: n.p.
12 Heller 2013. Robert Lzicar and Amanda Unger interviewed Martin Heller as part of the research project "Mapping Swiss Graphic Design History: Darstellungsformen von Grafikdesign-geschichte in der Schweiz" (Presentation forms of graphic design history in Switzerland), which was financed by the Bern University of Applied Sciences in 2012–2013.
13 Heller 2013.
14 See Heller 1997b.
15 Fiske 1992: 154.
16 Press review, *Herzblut: Populäre Gestaltung aus der Schweiz*, Museum für Gestaltung Zürich 1987, Zürcher Hochschule der Künste ZHdK Archive, GBA-1987-D07-502.
17 *Anschläge* is an untranslatable wordplay, as in German it can mean both billboards and attacks.
18 Heller 2013.
19 Exhibition documentation *Anschläge: Plakatsprache in Zürich: 1978–1988: Eine Ausstellung im Museum für Gestaltung Zürich*,

1988, Zürcher Hochschule der Künste ZHdK Archive, GBA-1988-D11-400.
20 Heller 2013.
21 See Heller & Heiz 1996: 15–18.
22 Heller 1995: 48. For a discussion of the first decade of the Swiss Poster Award, see "Die besten Plakate / Les meilleures affiches," in the present volume.
23 Fischer 1994: 26–30.
24 Heller 2013.
25 See Heller 1991: 50–53.
26 Heller 2013.
27 Heller 1993: 29. For a summary of the discourse on "the designer as author" in the English literature, see Barnes 2012: 4–5.
28 Heller & Museum für Gestaltung Zürich 1996.
29 Exhibition documentation, *Universal: Für fast alle und alles*, Museum für Gestaltung Zürich 1996, Zürcher Hochschule der Künste, ZHdK Archive.
30 Fischer 2004: 119.
31 Heller 1993: 28–29.
32 Heller 1997a: 50.
33 Federal Office of Culture, "Swiss Design Awards 2015, Swiss Grand Award for Design 2015, 16–21 June 2015, Messezentrum Basel, Hall 4.0," 2015, https://www.bak.admin.ch/dam/bak/de/dokumente/kulturfoerderung-design/publikationen/swiss_design_awards2015-pressdocumentation.pdf.download.pdf/swiss_design_awards2015-press-documentation.pdf (accessed Mar. 27, 2020).
34 Federal Office of Culture, Press release, Preis DESIGNER 2007, https://www.admin.ch/gov/de/start/dokumentation/medienmitteilungen.msg-id-15157.html (accessed Mar. 27, 2020).
35 Triggs 2016: 23–24.
36 Wilson 2016: 23
37 Ibid.
38 Bayley & Cliff 1983: 11.
39 Twemlow 2017: 168–169.
40 Twemlow 2017: 167.
41 Barnes 2012: 3.
42 Heller 1993: 29–30.
43 See Julier 1998.
44 See Gantenbein 1999b. A supposed increase in the number of visitors during Heller's tenure at the Museum für Gestaltung Zürich, as suggested in the article, cannot be confirmed by the documentation in the ZHdK Archive.
45 Julier 1998: 11–12.
46 Document *Publikationen Martin Heller: Stand 25.11.1996*, Zürcher Hochschule der Künste ZHdK Archive.
47 *Jahresbericht 2017.*
48 Müller 1984: 39.
49 Eberhard 1984: n.p.